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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 07 KIGALI 03734

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW
SUBJECT: FORMING THE GTBE (TRANSITION GOVERNMENT)

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

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2. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 872, PROVIDING FOR A
NEUTRAL INTERNATIONAL FORCE (NIF) FOR RWANDA, WILL
HELP TO END THE BICKERING WITHIN RWANDAN POLITICAL
PARTIES AND MAKE THEM FACE UP TO THEIR RESPONSIBILITY
IN FORMING A NEW BROAD-BASED TRANSITION GOVERNMENT.
THE ARUSHA ACCORD GIVES SPECIFIC PORTFOLIOS TO
SPECIFIC PARTIES, DEMANDING PARTY UNITY FOR INFLUENCE
IN THE CABINET AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE MRND,
ALTHOUGH LED BY A DISPARATE GROUP, SEEMS IN
REASONABLE UNITY. THE PARTIES WHICH HAVE CHALLENGED
THE MRND FOR THE PAST TWO YEARS ARE IN DISARRAY: THE
MDR IS SPLIT ON REGIONAL AND ETHNIC GROUNDS BETWEEN

Current Class: CONFIDENTIAL
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: HARRY R MELONE
DATE/CASE ID: 01 DEC 2003 200302426

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Current Handling: n/a

FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE AND PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU. THE PL IS COMING APART, WITH PRESIDENT MUGENZI CHALLENGED BY THE STRIDENT TUTSI MAJORITY IN HIS PARTY. THE PSD HAS EJECTED ITS DISSIDENTS AND SEEMS IN GOOD SHAPE FOR THE MOMENT. THE RPF WOULD LIKE TO BE A DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONWIDE, BUT WILL BE SEEN BY MOST AS PREDOMINATELY A TUTSI PARTY GROPING FOR REGIONAL STRONGHOLDS.

3. THE MDR, PL, PSD COALITION, WHICH BROUGHT MULTIPARTYISM TO RWANDA, IS THREATENED BY THE INTERNAL SQUABBLES OF THE PARTIES. WE BELIEVE THAT THE MDR WILL PAPER OVER ITS BASIC DIFFERENCES IN TIME TO FORM THE NEW GOVERNMENT. BUT THE LIBERAL PARTY'S DIVISIONS, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL NOT PREVENT THE FORMING OF THE GOVERNMENT, MAY INTENSIFY WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF THE RPF AS A POLITICAL PARTY IN RWANDA. END SUMMARY.

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4. NOW THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL HAS ESTABLISHED A NIF FOR RWANDA, RWANDAN POLITICIANS ARE STRUGGLING FOR AGREEMENT ON THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, THE GTBE (GOUVERNEMENT DE TRANSITION A BASE ELARGI). THE ARUSHA ACCORD PROVIDES FOR FIVE PORTFOLIOS EACH FOR THE MRND AND THE RPF, FOUR FOR THE MDR, THREE EACH FOR THE PL AND PSD AND ONE FOR THE PDC. THIS SIMPLE FORMULA IS COMPLICATED BY INTERNAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE MDR AND PL, UNCERTAINTY ABOUT MRND CANDIDATES, AND THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THE PARTY CANDIDATES TO THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE. THIS MESSAGE SUMMARIZES THE POSITIONS OF THE KEY PARTIES AND THEIR INTERNAL PROBLEMS WHICH ARE COMPLICATING THE FORMATION OF THE GTBE.

THE ROLE OF THE PARTIES

5. THE ARUSHA ACCORD MAKES POLITICAL PARTIES THE BASIS FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE GTBE. IT GIVES NOT ONLY THE NUMBER OF PARTY PORTFOLIOS BUT ALSO SPECIFIC PORTFOLIO ASSIGNMENTS TO EACH PARTY. IN ADDITION, THE ACCORD PROVIDES FOR THE PARTIES TO APPOINT MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE MAJOR PARTIES EACH HAVE ELEVEN SEATS IN THE ASSEMBLY, THAT IS, ONE

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SEAT FOR EACH PREFECTURE. MOST PARTIES HAVE HELD
PREFECTURAL CONFERENCES TO SELECT THEIR CANDIDATES
FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THE MRND HAS DONE
REASONABLY WELL; THE MDR HAS SPLIT IN SEVERAL
PREFECTURES, HOLDING TWO CONFERENCES IN A COUPLE OF
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PREFECTURES, EACH REPRESENTING DIFFERENT FACTIONS IN
THE PARTY. THE PL HAS SELECTED NINE TUTSIS AND HOLDS
THE OTHER TWO SEATS TO BE IN QUESTION.

6. ALL PARTIES SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT THE APPOINTMENT
OF MINISTERS IS UP TO A CENTRAL POLITICAL BUREAU.
THE MRND HAS MADE A PRELIMINARY SELECTION, BUT HAS
DECLINED TO PUBLICIZE IT, EXPLAINING THAT ITS ONLY
FIRM DECISION IS THAT ITS MINISTERS WILL COME ONE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 07 KIGALI 03734

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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Current Handling: n/a

SUBJECT: FORMING THE GTBE (TRANSITION GOVERNMENT)

EACH FROM RUHENGERI, BYUMBA, KIBUNGO, BUTARE, AND CYAMUGU. FOR THE MDR THE QUESTION IS FAR MORE DIFFICULT. THE PL AND THE PSD HAVE SELECTED MOST OF THEIR MINISTERS, AND THE ONE FROM THE PDC HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED.

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7. WHAT IS CLEAR IS THAT THE ARUSHA ACCORD IS FIRMLY BASED ON THE PARTIES THAT EXIST TODAY. THIS RELIANCE ON THE EXISTING POLITICAL PARTIES PUTS TREMENDOUS PRESSURE ON THE FACTIONS WITHIN THOSE PARTIES TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES BEFORE THE GTBE COMES INTO BEING.

8. RWANDAN PARTIES DO NOT SPLIT NEATLY INTO LEFT OR RIGHT ON THE BASIS OF IDEOLOGY OR ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES. EACH HAS FACTIONS WHICH ARE MORE COMPATIBLE IDEOLOGICALLY WITH FACTIONS OF OTHER PARTIES THAN THEY ARE WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THEIR OWN PARTY. IN THIS ANALYSIS OF IMPORTANT PARTIES, WE WILL LOOK AT THEIR POSITIONS AND THE POSITIONS OF THE VARIOUS FACTIONS ON: (1) ETHNICITY, (2) REGIONALISM, (3) IDEOLOGY, AND (4) PERSONALITIES.

MRND

9. THE FORMER SINGLE PARTY CREATED BY PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AFTER HIS COUP IN 1973 PROBABLY REMAINS THE LARGEST SINGLE PARTY IN THE COUNTRY. THE PARTY LONG SUPPORTED ETHNIC QUOTAS, AND MANY OF ITS MEMBERS STILL BELIEVE IN THEM. FOR A TIME IN EARLY 1993, THE PARTY THREATENED TO COME APART OVER THE ALLIANCE WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND HIS ENTOURAGE HAD MADE WITH THE RACIST CDR PARTY. IN THE END, THE CDR PULLED OUT OF THE ALLIANCE AFTER BEING TREATED SHABBILY BY THE MAINSTREAM OF THE MRND. THE MRND MAINSTREAM NOW IS

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COMMITTED TO RECONCILIATION WITH TUTSI MINORITY, BUT THERE IS STILL A RACIST FACTION IN THE PARTY.

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SENSING THIS, MOST OF THE TUTSIS WHO USED TO BELONG TO THE MRND HAVE BY NOW LEFT TO JOIN OTHER PARTIES, OR AWAIT THE ARRIVAL OF THE RPF, ACCORDING TO MRND PRESIDENT NGIRUMPATSE.

10. THE MRND IS A NATIONAL PARTY, ALTHOUGH ITS MAIN STRENGTH IS IN THE NORTHERN PREFECTURES OF GISENYI AND RUHENGERI. IT HAS VERY LITTLE STRENGTH IN EITHER GITARAMA OR BUTARE. NORTHERNERS CARRY WITH THEM A SENSE OF SUPERIORITY, BEING THE HUTUS OF THE COUNTRY WHO WERE LEAST DOMINATED BY THE TUTSIS THROUGHOUT THE PAST CENTURIES. MANY OTHER RWANDANS FIND THEM AGGRESSIVE AND ARROGANT. THE PRESIDENT, HIS ENTOURAGE, AND MUCH OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY ARE NORTHERNERS, LEAVING THE PARTY WITH AN UNMISTAKABLE REGIONAL CHARACTER.

11. IDEOLOGICALLY, THE MRND HAS NO STRONG BASE, IT HAS SHIFTED FROM THE FASHIONABLE SOCIALISM OF THE 70'S AND 80'S INTO A PRIVATIZATION PROGRAM WITH THE WORLD BANK WITH VIRTUALLY NO STRESS.

12. THE PARTY, LONG DOMINATED BY HABYARIMANA AND HIS FAMILY, BROKE FREE AND ASKED THE PRESIDENT TO RESIGN AS PRESIDENT OF THE PARTY IN THE SPRING OF 1993. THE NEW PARTY PRESIDENT, MATHIEU NGIRUMPATSE, IS A FORMER MINISTER AND LONG-TIME RWANDAN DIPLOMAT, LOYAL TO HABYARIMANA, BUT A MODERATE IN ETHNIC AND REGIONAL TERMS. NGIRUMPATSE COMES FROM KIGALI. THE FIRST

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VICE PRESIDENT, EDOUARD KARAMERA, IS FROM KIBUYE, AN EMOTIONAL PARTY LOYALIST WHO HAS WORKED TO CREATE MULTIPARTISM, BUT HAS SHOWN LITTLE CAPACITY FOR POLITICAL COMPROMISE. THE NATIONAL SECRETARY IS JOSEPH NZIRORERA, A HARDLINER FROM RUHENGERI WHO RETAINS CLOSE TIES WITH THE PRESIDENT'S FAMILY AND IS SEEN AS THEIR MAN IN THE PARTY. THIS STRANGE LEADERSHIP COALITION IS WORKING VERY WELL AT THE MOMENT WHILE THE OTHER PARTIES ARE HAVING INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES. NGIRUMPATSE WILL BE ABLE TO WORK WITH THE RPF LEADERS WHEN THEY ARRIVE. THE OTHER TWO WILL HAVE DIFFICULTY.

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MDR

13. THE MDR IS THE LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE MDR
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PARMEHUTU PARTY WHICH WRESTED POWER FROM THE TUTSI
MONARCHY AT THE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE. IT MAY, IN
FACT, BE LARGER THAN THE MRND, IF IT CAN RESOLVE ITS
INTERNAL PROBLEMS. THESE PROBLEMS PIT PARTY
PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU
AGAINST PARTY VICE PRESIDENT AND FORMER PRIME
MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE. THE LATTER LEFT THE COUNTRY
AFTER BEING OUT MANEUVERED BY THE FORMER IN JULY.

14. ON THE ETHNIC QUESTION, GENERAL SECRETARY DONAT
MUREGO AND SECOND VICE PRESIDENT EDOUARD KARAMIRA
SEEM DEEPLY COMMITTED TO THE HUTU SUPREMACY PLATFORM
OF THE OLD PARMEHUTU PARTY. PARTY PRESIDENT

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TWAGIRAMUNGU, AND CURRENT PRIME MINISTER AGATHE UWILINGIYIMAMA ARE COMMITTED TO OPENING THE PARTY TO RECONCILIATION WITH TUTSIS AND RETURNING REFUGEES. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHERE FORMER PRIME MINISTER NSENGIYAREMYE WILL FINALLY COME DOWN ON THE ETHNIC ISSUE. HE HAS ALLIED HIMSELF WITH MUREGO AND KARAMIRA, BUT WE THINK HE IS MORE COMFORTABLE INTELLECTUALLY WITH THE MODERATES. DISMAS HAS BEEN ON A TWO AND ONE-HALF MONTH "VACATION" IN BELGIUM, AND IT IS NOT KNOWN WHEN OR IF HE WILL RETURN.

15. THE MDR HAS ITS GREATEST STRENGTH IN THE PREFECTURE OF GITARAMA. BUT IT IS ALSO A NATIONAL PARTY, WITH SIGNIFICANT FOLLOWING IN BUTARE, CYANGUGU AND KIGALI.

16. IDEOLOGICALLY, THERE IS LITTLE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MDR AND THE MRND ON ECONOMIC ISSUES. THE
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CLEAVAGE WITHIN THE PARTY SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE OVER THEIR WILLINGNESS OR LACK THEREOF TO REACH AN ACCOMMODATION WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA. THE PARMEHUTU LEADERS, MUREGO AND KARAMIRA, SEEM TO BE REVOLUTIONARY IN MENTALITY, REFUSING TO CONSIDER ACCOMMODATION WITH THE PRESIDENT EVEN FOR PRACTICAL POLITICAL PURPOSES. (MUREGO WAS IMPRISONED BY HABYARIMANA FOR TEN YEARS, ALLEGEDLY FOR COUP PLOTTING, AND REMAINS ADAMANTLY HOSTILE TO THE PRESIDENT.) NSENGIYAREMYE AS PRIME MINISTER BEHAVED AS THOUGH HE AGREED WITH THESE HARDLINERS. ON THE OTHER HAND, TWAGIRAMUNGU AND UWILINGIYIMANA ARE PERFECTLY CAPABLE OF MAKING A COMPROMISE AND MAKING IT WORK. THUS THE IDEOLOGICAL SPLIT WITHIN THE MDR SEEMS TO BE ONE OF EVOLUTION VERSUS REVOLUTION.

17. THERE IS ALSO A REGIONAL SPLIT BETWEEN THE LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE MDR. THE MDR STRENGTH OF GITARAMA IS REPRESENTED BY NSENGIYAREMYE. AN ALLIANCE WITH RUHENGERI BRINGS HIM TOGETHER WITH MUREGO. TWAGIRAMUNGU IS FROM CYANGUGU, NEVER A STRONGHOLD OF THE MDR. AFTER THE SPLIT WITH NSENGIYAREMYE, TWAGIRAMUNGU SAID PUBLICLY THAT THE PARTY SHOULD NOT BE DOMINATED BY THE GITARAMA-RUHENGERI AXIS. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN AN APPROPRIATELY REASONABLE PROPOSITION, BUT IT SOUNDED LIKE A THREAT TO THE NORTH-CENTRAL FACTION.

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18. THE MDR MAY BE ABLE TO PUT ITSELF BACK TOGETHER
AGAIN IN A COMPROMISE BETWEEN TWAGIRAMUNGU AND
NSENGIYAREMYE IN WHICH FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER
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NGULINZIRA FROM RUHENGERI AND CURRENT PRIME MINISTER
UWILINGIYIMAMA FROM BUTARE PARTICIPATE. IT SEEMS
UNLIKELY THAT MUREGO OR KARAMIRA WILL BE RECONCILED
TO TWAGIRAMUNGU. IN FACT, THEY INSIST THAT THEY
REPRESENT THE PARTY AND HAVE EXPELLED TWAGIRAMUNGU
AND HIS ALLIES FROM THE PARTY. MUTUAL CHALLENGES
OVER CONTROL OF THE PARTY HAVE BEEN TAKEN TO COURT
WHERE THE FIRST PROCEDURAL ROUND WAS WON BY THE
MUREGO FACTION, BUT AN APPEAL NEED NOT BE HEARD UNTIL
THE END OF DECEMBER. THUS THE DISPUTE WILL PROPERLY
HAVE TO BE RESOLVED BY POLITICAL, NOT JUDICIAL, MEANS.

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LIBERAL PARTY

19. THE LIBERAL PARTY WAS CREATED WITH AN IDEOLOGY TO
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BE OPEN TO MEMBERSHIP BY ALL, AND SUPPORTIVE OF
LIBERAL ECONOMIC POLICIES. IT QUICKLY ATTRACTED
BUSINESS PEOPLE, SOME OF WHOM JOINED WITH PARTY
PRESIDENT JUSTIN MUGENZI WHEN HE LEFT THE
CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE RWANDAN INDUSTRIALIST ASSOCIATION
TO START THE LIBERAL PARTY.

20. BECAUSE OF THEIR BUSINESS CONNECTIONS, THE PL
QUICKLY BECAME THE HAVEN FOR RWANDA'S TUTSIS. IT IS
NOW BELIEVED THAT BETWEEN TWO-THIRDS AND NINETY-FIVE
PERCENT OF THE PARTY MEMBERSHIP IS TUTSI. THE PARTY
WAS ACCUSED THROUGHOUT THE PERIOD OF THE WAR OF BEING
A STOOGES FOR THE RPF, OF BEING A FIFTH COLUMN, OF
BEING AGENTS FOR THE TUTSI MONARCHY, AND, OF COURSE,
BECAME INCREASINGLY TUTSI IN MEMBERSHIP AS IT STOOD
UP AND ACCEPTED THE ACCUSATIONS FROM THE HARDLINERS
IN THE HUTU MAJORITY.

21. IN REGIONAL TERMS, THE LIBERAL PARTY HAS ITS MAIN
STRENGTH IN THE BUTARE REGION WHICH HAS LONG BEEN THE
TUTSI POPULATION STRONGHOLD. BUT IT ALSO HAS
STRENGTH IN KIGALI AND IN KIBUNGO WHERE MUGENZI COMES
FROM AND KIBUYE.

22. IDEOLOGICALLY, IT WILL BE THE BUSINESS PARTY, IF
IT CAN SHAKE THE ETHNIC PROBLEMS WHICH IT IS
UNDERGOING AT THE PRESENT TIME.

23. JUSTIN MUGENZI FORMED THE PARTY AT A TIME WHEN
HIS TUTSI BROTHER-IN-LAW HAD BEEN BADLY BEATEN BY THE
ARMED FORCES. HE WELCOMED TUTSIS INTO THE PARTY,

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FORGED A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE RPF THROUGH PHONE AND
FAX, AND CHALLENGED PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA IN THE MOST
STRIDENT TONES. HIS PARTY LEADERSHIP WAS

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THREE-FOURTHS HUTU; ONLY SECOND VICE PRESIDENT LANDOALD NDASINGWA IS A TUTSI. BUT IN THE LATEST PREFECTORIAL CONGRESSES FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, NINE PREFECTURES RETURNED TUTSI DEPUTIES. THERE ARE DISPUTES OVER THE OTHER TWO. MUGENZI ACCUSES LAMDO OF FORMING A TUTSI CABAL AGAINST HIM. LANDO ACCUSES MUGENZI OF TRYING TO MAINTAIN HUTU SUPREMACY IN THE PARTY, AND ACCUSES GENERAL SECRETARY AGNES NTAMABYARIRO OF BEING A THOROUGH RACIST. LANDO APPARENTLY CONTROLS THE NINE PL DEPUTIES, AND IS WELL PLACED TO BECOME EITHER PRESIDENT OR VICE PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, POSTS WHICH HE CLAIMS MUGENZI PROMISED HIM, THEN RENEGED AND SUPPORTED ANOTHER (HUTU) CANDIDATE.

24. THIS IS THE MOST UNFORTUNATE PARTY BATTLE CURRENTLY UNDERWAY IN KIGALI. THE PARTY THAT WAS FORMED TO BE THE PLACE WHERE TUTSIS COULD FEEL FREE TO PARTICIPATE, HAS NOW FALLEN VICTIM TO AN ETHNIC BATTLE UNEQUALED IN ANY OF THE OTHER PARTIES. LAMDO AND OTHERS INSIST THEY JUST WANT TO DEMOCRATIZE THE PARTY, ARE PREPARED TO LET MUGENZI CONTINUE AS PRESIDENT OF THE PARTY, BUT THAT AGNES MUST GIVE UP HER POSITION AS SECRETARY GENERAL OR GIVE UP BEING MINISTER OF JUSTICE, BUT SHE CAN'T REMAIN AS BOTH. NEITHER LANDO NOR MUGENZI ADMIT THAT THEY ARE IN A CLASSIC ETHNIC BATTLE. BUT LANDO INSISTS ON A NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS WHERE THE MAJORITY WILL WIN,
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AND MUGENZI FEELS THAT HE HAS BEEN BETRAYED AND PLOTTED AGAINST. LANDO HAS TAKEN OVER FROM MUGENZI THE REGULAR CONTACT WITH THE RPF.

25. MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT RECONCILIATION WITHIN THE LIBERAL PARTY WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT EVEN THAN IN THE MDR. SOME FEAR THAT THE TUTSI DOMINATION OF THE PL IN ACCOMMODATION WITH TUTSI DOMINATION OF THE RPF WOULD GIVE THESE TWO PARTIES MORE THAN A THIRD OF THE CABINET AND PRACTICALLY A THIRD OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF POLITICAL

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POWER. SOME RWANDANS ALLEGE THAT THE PARTY SPLIT WAS
CREATED BY HABYARIMANA WHO AGREED TO GIVE MUGENZI HIS
LONG COVETED MINISTRY (COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY) IN
EXCHANGE FOR MUGENZI BRINGING HUTU MINISTERS INTO THE
CABINET.

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PSD

26. IN ALLIANCE WITH THE MDR AND PL, THE PSD HAS BEEN
A PART OF THE OPPOSITION COALITION FROM THE
BEGINNING. IT WAVERED BRIEFLY IN EARLY 1992 IN A
FURTIVE NEGOTIATION WITH THE MRND FOR INCLUSION IN A
GOVERNMENT WITHOUT THE OTHER PARTIES, WAS EJECTED
FROM THE "CONCERTATION", BUT RECEIVED BACK BY THE
TIME OF THE FORMATION OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT IN
APRIL OF 1992.

27. THE PSD HAS BEEN CONSISTENTLY RECEPTIVE OF TUTSI

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MEMBERSHIP, BUT SO FAR AS WE ARE AWARE, HAS NO TUTSIS IN ITS LEADERSHIP RANKS.

28. THE PSD IS LARGELY A REGIONAL PARTY FROM THE BUTARE REGION IN THE SOUTH. IT HAS SOME STRENGTH IN KIGALI AND HAS MADE AN EFFORT TO CREATE OFFICES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

29. ALTHOUGH IT CALLS ITSELF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THERE IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY HAS PENETRATED. IN FACT, ITS LEADERS SEEM TO HAVE A FAIRLY STRONG RELATIONSHIP WITH LOCAL BUSINESS PEOPLE AND ARE MORE CONSISTENTLY ACCUSED OF PROFITEERING FROM THEIR CABINET POSITIONS THAN ANY OTHER GROUP OF LEADERS.

30. THE LEADER OF THE PARTY IS GENERAL SECRETARY
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FELICIEN GATABAZI WHO HAS TAKEN FOR HIMSELF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC WORKS, A POSITION HE HELD PREVIOUSLY UNDER HABYARIMANA UNTIL HE WAS ACCUSED OF CORRUPTION AND DISMISSED. MANY BELIEVE HE HAS PICKED UP WHERE HE LEFT OFF. THE PRESIDENT OF THE PARTY IS FREDERIC NZAMURAMBAHO, CURRENT AND FORMER MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE. PSD MINISTER OF FINANCE MARC RUGENERA COMES FROM A BUSINESS BACKGROUND AND IS ALSO GENERALLY ACCUSED OF PROFITING FROM HIS FINANCE POSITION, ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW HE COULD GET MUCH OUT OF A BANKRUPT MINISTRY OF FINANCE. THE FIRST VICE PRESIDENT OF THE PSD, FELICIEN NGANGO, WILL BE THE PSD CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. IF PL'S LANDO GETS THE PRESIDENCY, NGANGO WILL TAKE THE VICE PRESIDENCY AND VICE VERSA.

31. PARTY LEADERSHIP WAS CHALLENGED IN SEPTEMBER BY A DISSIDENT GROUP WHICH WENT SO FAR AS TO HIRE A LOCAL CHAPTER OF THE MRMD YOUTH TO BREAK UP A MEETING OF PSD COLLEAGUES. THEY LOST AND WERE DRUMMED OUT OF THE PARTY AS THE TOP LEADERSHIP HELD TOGETHER.

RPF

32. OBVIOUSLY WE KNOW LESS ABOUT THE RPF THAN WE DO ABOUT THE OTHER PARTIES. ALTHOUGH CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE IS HUTU AND THE CHIEF NEGOTIATOR IN

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ARUSHA, PASTEUR BIZIMUNGU, IS ALSO HUTU, IT IS CLEAR
FROM THE OTHER RPF LEADERS THAT WE HAVE MET IN ARUSHA
AND KINIHIRA THAT OVER NINETY PERCENT OF THE RPF IS
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TUTSI. BUT THE PARTY CLAIMS A SPECIAL DEMOCRATIC
OBJECTIVE AGAINST THE HABYARIMANA DICTATORSHIP, A
CALL FOR AN END TO ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION (BUT
ESPECIALLY AGAINST TUTSIS), AND BELIEVES THIS MESSAGE
WILL ATTRACT SUPPORT ACROSS ETHNIC LINES.

33. THE RPF HAS NOT ESTABLISHED A REGIONAL BASE, BUT
MANY CLAIM THAT THE KANYARENGWE INFLUENCE IN PARTS OF
RUHENGERI REMAINS A STRONGHOLD FOR FUTURE RPF
RECRUITMENT. THE MAJOR SOURCES OF INTERNAL
RECRUITMENT FOR THE RPF DURING THE WAR WERE IN

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	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-16	LAB-04	L-03
	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-02
	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	RPE-01	CORE-00	/045W			

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R 131357Z OCT 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4845
INFO RUEHDS/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 07 KIGALI 03734

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PGOV, PINR, RW

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SUBJECT: FORMING THE GTBE (TRANSITION GOVERNMENT)

BUGASERA IN SOUTHERN KIGALI PREFECTURE AND FROM PARTS OF BUTARE. IT IS TOO EARLY TO KNOW IF THESE AREAS WILL SWING TO THE RPF WHEN IT BECOMES A POLITICAL PARTY.

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34. IDEOLOGICALLY THE RPF HAS BEEN ANTI-DICTATOR AND PRO-DEMOCRACY. BUT THERE IS ALSO A CURIOUS HANGOVER OF MARXIST IDEOLOGY IN SOME OF ITS WRITING AND A TROUBLING RECENT ATTACK ON PRIVATIZATION WHICH MAY REFLECT A SOCIALIST IDEOLOGICAL BIAS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THIS MAY SIMPLY REFLECT THE FACT THAT PRIVATIZATION SEEMS TO BE TAKING SOME OF THE RESOURCES AWAY FROM MINISTRIES WHICH THE RPF WILL INHERIT. THE RPF HAS NOT YET REVEALED ITS CANDIDATES FOR MINISTERIAL POSTS OR FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, BUT WE BELIEVE THEY HAVE BEEN SELECTED AND THAT THEY WILL BE COMMUNICATED TO PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU VERY SHORTLY.

COMMENT

35. THIS OVERSIMPLIFIED VIEW OF THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE PROVIDES THE ESSENTIAL BASE FOR REPORTING WE WILL BE DOING OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS ON THE FORMATION OF THE GTBE.

36. THE WESTERN EMBASSIES, ALONG WITH A VERY AGGRESSIVE NEW BURUNDI AMBASSADOR, ARE DOING WHATEVER WE CAN TO ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO RESOLVE THEIR INTERNAL DIFFERENCES SO AN EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT CAN BE FORMED AS SOON AS THE NIF ARRIVES. BURUNDI ADVICE TO THE MDR IS TO ACCEPT FAUSTIN TWAGIRAMUNGU AS PRIME MINISTER AND WORK OUT A DEAL WITH HIM. THE REST OF US ARE NOT QUITE AS BOLD IN PRESSING FOR INTERNAL RECONCILIATION, BUT WE HAVE NOTED CERTAIN EXAMPLES OF

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THE KINDS OF COMPROMISES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN OTHER POLITICAL SYSTEMS TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES AT THE

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LEADERSHIP LEVEL OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

37. OUR EXPECTATION IS THAT THE MDR WILL COME BACK TOGETHER TO A LARGE EXTENT. PROBABLY THE MUREGO AND KARAMIRA FACTION WILL NOT JOIN UP, BUT THE DISMAS NSENGIYAREMYE AND BONIFACE NGULINZIRA REBELS WILL PROBABLY ACCEPT SOME FORM OF COMPROMISE WITH TWAGIRAMUNGU, PERHAPS ACCEPT CABINET POSITIONS IN THE NEXT GOVERNMENT, OR LEADERSHIP POSITIONS IN THE PARTY IN EXCHANGE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF TWAGIRAMUNGU AS PRIME MINISTER AND HIS "REINSTATEMENT" INTO THE PARTY.

38. DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, MUGENZI WILL PROBABLY KEEP HIS CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE LIBERAL PARTY, AND HIS POSITION IN THE CABINET, BUT THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FACTION OF THE PL WILL BE DOMINATED BY LANDO AND TUTSIS. THUS THE LIBERAL PARTY MAY EVENTUALLY TAKE ITSELF OUT OF A MAJOR ROLE IN THE FUTURE POLITICS OF THE COUNTRY, IF IT FAILS TO REUNITE ITS CABINET (HUTU) FACTION WITH ITS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (TUTSI) FACTION. THE PARTY WILL NOT DISAPPEAR, HOWEVER, BECAUSE ITS TUTSI MEMBERS WILL NOT AUTOMATICALLY JOIN THE RPF, NOR WILL THE RPF INITIALLY WELCOME THEM, AS RPF LEADERS HAVE OFTEN EXPRESSED CONTEMPT FOR THE SECOND RATE TUTSIS OF THE PL.

39. THE MRND IS GOING TO BE THE MOST INTERESTING TO WATCH IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT. IT WILL NO LONGER HAVE
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THE ABILITY TO BLOCK ANYTHING AS IT HAS DONE IN THE RECENT TRANSITION GOVERNMENTS. AS A RESULT, IT WILL HAVE TO SEEK ALLIANCES. AT THAT POINT, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE LEADERS WITHIN THE MRND MAY BECOME OBVIOUS. DURING THE PAST SIX MONTHS, PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA HAS PROVEN HIMSELF TO BE THE MOST EFFECTIVE POLITICIAN IN THE COUNTRY. HE WILL LOSE MOST OF HIS CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY IN THE GTBE, BUT WILL RETAIN THE RIGHT TO CHAIR THE CABINET WHEN HE CHOOSES TO DO SO. WHETHER HE WILL BE ABLE TO HOLD THE MRND TOGETHER AND FORGE COALITIONS AROUND IT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 07 OF 07 KIGALI 03734

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
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SUBJECT: FORMING THE GTBE (TRANSITION GOVERNMENT)

WILL BE A KEY DETERMINANT OF HOW THE GTBE WILL
FUNCTION. FLATEN

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